53
G.L.130
G.L.154
667

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

PEACE AND PROSPERITY

BY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

20.8, 13.5, 57

MAGANVADI
WARDHA (C. P.)
1949

UM
229

First Edition 1948
Second Edition 1949

Printed on Handmade Paper

Price Re. 1-0-0

Published by—J. C. Kumarappa, Organiser & President,
The All India Village Industries Association
Maganvadi, Wardha, C. P.

Printed by—G. B. Joshi
Bhasker Press, Wardha. C. P.

1000-11-49]

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The common man everywhere stands aghast at the destruction caused by war and horrified at the thought of a third World War. Yet he does not see how this state of affairs can be avoided.

This pamphlet traces the cause of wars and suggests a remedy. As this booklet is composed of articles that have appeared at various times in different journals as the "Aryan Path", "Gram Udyog Patrika", and the "Harijan", there is some unavoidable repetition for which the indulgence of the reader is asked.

We are grateful to these journals for the permission to collect these articles in pamphlet form for the convenience of the public.

4th January, 1948
Maganvadi
Wardha

J. C. Kumarappa

CONTENTS

I	Pacifism and Bellicosity.	1
II	The C. O.'s, Pacifists and Non-violence.	10
III	The Moral Equivalent of War	14
IV	Let not your Heart be Troubled	17
V	Out of the Mouth of Babes	20
VI	What Shall it Profit ?	21
VII	The Neo-Sermon on the Mount.	24
VIII	The Super Bomb.	26
IX	Whither Centralization ?	28
X	The Parent of Imperialism	31
XI	"The Glorious Violence"	35
XII	Service or Dis-service ?	39
XIII	Cost of Policing	40
XIV	The Wind and the Whirlwind	41
XV	Infanticide	44
XVI	Birth Control in Industries.	46
XVII	Large Scale Industries and Human Development	47
XVIII	A World Menace ?	49
XIX	World Security	52
XX	On Earth Peace	55

G.L.130
G.L.154

I

PACIFISM AND BELLICOSITY

"War is an unmitigated evil to be shunned" will express the sentiment of the common man, woman and child in any nation. Yet periodical wars of global magnitude have become the order of the day. If the love of peace is so deeply ingrained, and widely spread in the common man why have we these holocausts? How can we prevent them? Had not the generations that have gone before us tried to solve these fundamental problems of human existence? If so, can we learn anything from them? Can we contribute anything further?

THE SEED OF WAR

War is the collective manifestation of friction between single individuals. Amongst individuals an eruption takes place when one person seeks to enforce his will on another. We desire a certain thing and seek to materialise that desire by an action directed by our will power. If our desire goes contrary to the interest of another, friction ensues. This, in the aggregate, leads to group conflicts, or wars. Hence, if we would eradicate this weed from society, it would call for the training of our wills in complete alignment with the needs of society In other words the solution lies in developing self-control and self-discipline to make us worthy members of society. This was the basis of the Hindu approach to the problem.

If we fail to keep in mind the individual and his conduct but proceed to attack the projection of this malformation into

society, we shall be guilty of treating the symptom instead of the disease. At every turn the act of the individual affects society. Even these global wars have their roots in the isolated acts of individuals. Therefore, the individual and the life he leads demand our scrutiny.

IN ANCIENT TIMES

There is a fundamental difference in the social manifestation of wars of the past and those of the twentieth century. Formerly wars were waged by individuals for revenge, for loot, for acquisition of territory or for self-aggrandizement. They were fought by mercenaries or by persons closely allied to the belligerent parties. The general mass of people kept out of these conflicts. Under such circumstances the evils of war, bad as they always are, were limited.

THE REMEDY

The way to meet the sitution was also simple. The *Varnashram* provided a quarantine for the bellicose, The *Kshatriyas* were given the monopoly of policing the State internally and to defend the population from external aggression. This was the sociological device.

Culturally, the fighting man was not given the highest status. Anger was considered the base of all crimes. The standard of values was weighted against all whose actions will lead to conflict, Material wealth was sterilized of its glamour. Those who were assigned the highest place in society were those who followed their path of duty to their fellowmen. One of the fertile grounds for conflict was selfishness and acquisition of property. Renunciation was covered with a mantle of sanctity to counteract man's natural greed.

There was a preconcerted plan to block all the sources of violence. Under this order of things our country remained non-violent for centuries, though she had to suffer violence from invaders from time to time,

MODERN WARS

Within living memory wars have ceased to be personal conflicts to satisfy individual desires. They have assumed nation wide proportion, It is no longer Alexander marching to conquer the world, but it is the British waging war against the Germans. This change has been brought about primarily by a change in the economic organization of society.

With the "Industrial Revolution" in Europe, centralized methods of production came into vogue. This meant that the plant and machinery were situated in one convenient place while the world was scoured for raw materials which were brought over thousands of miles of ocean routes to the central plant. After manufacture the finished goods had to be taken to the four corners of the earth for sale. This method logically led to the situation where the owners of the plant and machinery had, of necessity, to keep close control over the sources of raw materials and to regulate their markets, while policing the ocean-routes to keep them clear and open for the traffic of their merchandise. All this demanded the Army, Navy and the Air Force to control the lives of other peoples and nations and guide them into such channels as would ensure the satisfaction of the needs of the machine owners and their world-wide ramifications,

MORAL DEGRADATION

To this end it would not do to impute moral values into the equation. Violence has taken a central place in this economic organization. It has to command votaries from all

sections of society. How can that be done if anger were considered a crime? On the other hand violence has to be glorified or deified. This cannot be achieved by stigmatising all fighters who make a profession of killing as "murderers" and officers as "mass murderers" and Generals as "arch murderers". No; murdering has to be made an honourable profession. Army is made into a noble calling, the Navy into an aristocratic allegiance and the Air Force becomes the acme of educational attainment! With these warped standards of values impregnated into youthful minds, in season and out of season, it has been possible to misguide millions and even women amongst them. Nations have to wage war against nations, hatred and suspiction has to be cultivated to feed the fire of national enmity.

LIVING

Under this octopus, the life of the individual is also set in lines which will absorb the production of the machines. Social values are affixed to modes of life demanding a large consumption of machine made products. A man is honoured, not for his character, nor for the discharge of his duty to his fellowmen, but for the abundance of things he possesses. This humanly low type of material living has been termed a "High Standard of Living". Renunciation has no place in this order of things. Self-indulgence, rather than self-discipline, is held up as a goal to pursue. The whole scheme of life is weighted in favour of violence.

PACIFISM

If our analysis is true then no amount of sentimental objection to war can be of any avail. Conscientious objectors in war time only generate more violence. A desire to banish war coupled with a longing for peace must materialise in

a mode of life in which violence has no part. To the cry of superficial sentimentalists the war mongers had offered a sop-the League of Nations. They also promised to limit armaments. Can we accept from a seasoned drunkard as an earnest of his teetotalism a gift of an empty bottle or shall we be satisfied with his promise of drinking in limited quantities in future? Yet the world sat back contented as though Mars has been banished for ever. Was this willingness to be easily satisfied rooted in the fear of facing a form of life, in which violence being eschewed it would be hard to maintain a "Standard of living" without things we have got used to?

No superficial attempts to create a public opinion by slogans of "Save the World for Democracy" etc. will solve the problem. The innumerable international security conferences have proved to be only endeavours to "keep the other fellow from fighting", neither can we outlaw war by any international legislation.

We have to face facts sternly and remove the seeds of war from our midst, cost it what it may. Unless we go about our business with a grim determination any amount of politicial reshuffling will not come to our rescue. Those of us, who are prepared to go to the uttermost, should work with might and main during "peace time" or rather during the absence of kinetic war. We ought not to be content with surface alterations. The Political aspect of war is the least important. We have to reach down to the daily routine of life of every citizen and from it weed out all parasitic growth.

RUSSIA

An experiment to ban private foreign trade has been attempted by the Soviets. But this has not reduced violence.

Russia clearly indicates that violence has been generated by causes other than international disputes. A searching analysis will reveal beyond doubt that the terriffic internal violence, on which Russian life is organized, is the result of regimentation of economic activity called for by the same system of centralized production. So it is not a mere superficial coincidence that Russia finds herself in the company of Imperialist nations vying with each other for the laurel of being crowned "the most violent nation of this generation." Whether it be Soviet Communism, or Nazi State Socialism or Facism or Political Imperialism of Britan, or the Financial Imperialism of America or the Industrial Imperialism of Japan, they all tend to the same way. Therefore, we should look for a common factor in all these organizations. And that seems to be *centralized methods of production* with or without private profit, with its accompanying problems of raw materials and markets.

INDIA

If this, then, is the root of all violence, we have to set about putting every house in the land in order, so that the life in the smallest of social units eschews violence. This brings us to the practical solutions offered by the greatest living pacifist, of our times—Mahatma Gandhi. He represents the quintessence of Indian culture and therefore his suggestions may be taken as the efforts put forth by India to meet the situation.

According to our conception of a Pacifist, he must not merely be working against organized warfare but must not contribute by his action or mode of life to conditions that will precipitate war. Westerners often credit Gandhiji for evolving a moral equivalent of war in the method of "Satyagraha." This is the least part of his contribution to Pacifism. He has gone deeper to the root causes of war contaminating the every day life of the citizen. These have to be

purged out by every single person. Each individual is a potential contributory cause of global wars. To the extent it lies in our power we have to modify our methods of living to frustrate war.

Foreigners come into a country to sell their goods and obtain raw materials. If the citizens of a country refuse to have anything to do with this trade—neither buy foreign goods nor sell their raw materials—the basis of foreign violence will be cut. Foreigners carry on most of their work through the cooperation of the citizens—Stooges and Quislings. If by education we can generate sufficient stamina and moral power for the citizen to withhold cooperation with foreigners, no nation can hold another in bondage—violence or no violence. Hence foreign trade in prime necessaries must be banned.

How are we going to adjust our daily life so as to banish war? Every individual has to accept responsibility for all acts that precede the economic transaction into which he enters. No one can say that he washes his hands of moral issues to which he is personally not a party. If we buy a stolen article because it is cheap, we have a moral share in the stealing of that article. If we burn kerosene oil knowing that Burmah is held under political bondage for purpose of exploiting its oil resources, we are also patries to the political slavery of Burmah and the consequent violence that has gone before the conquest and that which is needed to keep up the foreign occupation of that country. If we are true pacifists of the Indian type we cannot use products which have taken part in international trade based on or enforced by violence. Giving up the use of foreign products for this purpose is not a political "boycott" which latter may be born of violence in thought and deed.

This brings academic considerations of international Pacifism to earth and pins it to the work-a-day life of a man Simplifying our lives in this manner and to this end is not a form of asceticism but resultant of our own limitations. It calls for self-control and self-discipline of a high order. We cannot have self-indulgence and pacifism at the same time. This necessary ground for this programme has already been prepared by the ancients by the standards of values they had set. Based on that culture Gandhiji's pacifism manifests itself in his constructive programme. We have to realign the lay out of society if we desire to outlaw war, limit our consumption goods to those which have been produced under our ken and for which we shall be prepared to assume moral responsibility. This is the foundation of Gandhiji's self-sufficiency programme. Every nation should produce its own primary needs—food, clothing and shelter. Foreign trade there may be only in luxury goods. Nations do not go to war for this. If England is beleaguered and is in danger of starvation she will stick at nothing to get the food she wants.

The present economic organization rests on violence for its foundation. If we seek peace we have to rebuild our social structure on conditions which will have no need for resorting to violence as a means of maintaining our social order. No tinkering with this problem will answer the purpose. Hard, as it may seem, we have to face realities. So far the Pacifists of the West contented themselves by enlisting public opinion against war, ignoring the fact that great possessions arising out of centralized methods of production and peace are poles apart. The high standards of the West cannot be maintained without holding in bondage the weaker nations of the East. Are the Pacifists prepared to make the necessary fundamental adjustments in their own life, in the first

instance, and in the life of their nation eventually? This is the crucial test. No make-shift arrangement or patch-work will bring us lasting peace or goodwill amongst the nations.

We have to awaken the moral consciousness of the youth and call a spade a spade. Let there be no soft peddling on mass murders euphemistically called "wars". Let the youth know when he enlists in the "Forces" that he is joining a gang of international murderers and brigands. We cannot call in the noble patriotism, enthusiasm and energy of youth into action for so vile a purpose. Let us raise the moral consciousness and lower money considerations and material values. If we succeed in doing these then alone shall we be practical Pacifists working towards a time when youth shall learn war no more. Thus shall we usher in an age of peace in this war-torn world and rescue civilization from barbarism.

2nd Sept, 1946 —*The Aryan Path*

II

THE C. O.' S, PACIFISTS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Thinking people the world over are much agitated over the trend of events. They see threatening clouds gathering on the horizon. They are uncertain of the turn world affairs may take and quake before the thought of another world war. These forebodings are indicated by the many conventions and conferences held by these various groups. The Montreux Convention seeks to establish peace by a World Federal Government. The War Resisters International suggests other ways. The Concientious Objectors would keep out of active participation in the fight, while others pin their faith in disarmament. All are agreed war is barbarous and must be banished from civilized society.

THE CONCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The Concientious Objectors represent the first awkening of the individual to the immorality of war. It is a personal affair. The C. O. sees that soldiering is murderous; personally he is not willing to take up arms against his fellowman. For this conviction he is willing to suffer whatever punishment society inflicts on such.

The C. O. does not carry his investigations any further. He deals with his immediate problem but does not follow up to ferret out the cause that leads to this situation. His

is a short sighted view. He deals with the disease. He does not realize that perhaps his daily life is causing that situation to arise and that it may be necessary for him to readjust his mode of living. He resembles the individual who preaches prevention of cruelty to animals but insists on having his bacon for his breakfast, not realizing that his eating of bacon will call for the slaughter of the pig. He himself is not willing to do the cruel killing but his course of action brings into existence and sustains the butcher.

This is either due to want of clear thinking or due to being unprepared to face the logical consequences. In the former case it calls for further study and thought. The latter case is unworthy of a social being. If he is a willing member of a society and partakes of the common life that ultimately leads to wars, then his keeping out of participation in war is shirking his duty. If he disapproves of war he must take to a mode of life in which war has no place. If he wants to prevent cruelty to animals he must give up eating bacon.

PACIFISM

With the Pacifist the question is not purely a personal affair. To him the problem assumes social or national dimensions. He wants peace among men. He seeks to attain it by controlling immediate contributory causes—by devising means of settling disputes and claims, by disarmament, by a Federal World Government, etc. He rests his faith on curative methods.

He forgets that the parties to the dispute may be greater than the judge who will not be able to enforce his judgement; nay the disputants may constitute themselves as judges of their own cases! These were the drawbacks of the League of Nations.

When two persons are intent on fighting, disarmament does not prevent conflict. You ban the atom bomb, the "Big Berthas" will be there; you remove the "Big Berthas" the rifle will be there, failing these you have the bow and the arrow, the dagger or the stick! Did disarmament of Germany after World War I prevent World War II?

Neither can we place our faith on man made law. It is as efficacious as its sanctions, which need to be effectively implemented to be of any practical use. World Government will carry us no further.

The fever may be abated by restraining the patient according to the physicians orders and confining him to bed or by applying ice bags to his head. The main thing is to diagnose the disease and treat the cause of the fever and take precaution to order the life of the patients in such a way that the fever may not be occasioned again.

NON-VIOLENCE

We have to examine carefully to locate the causes of totalitarian wars of the type we have gone through on the last two occasions. Once we trace the cause we should have the courage of our convictions to face boldly the consequences of the treatment necessary to banish war from society, reorganize society and its mode of life on a basis that will not require periodical wars to set right its equilibrium. This means we have to build up our daily life on the basis of non-violence. A society based on such a formation will eschew war for all time

If we are honest to ourselves we shall find that these wars are caused by a lopsided development of our economic life. The quest for raw materials and fuel, and need for control of markets are the hot beds where international wars

are bred. We need to adopt our modes of living to fit into our capacity to satisfy our needs. If there is a discrepancy between these two, we come into conflict with our neighbours. The immensity of the form of conflict does not matter. We have to avoid occasions that give rise to competition, greed and jealousy. Are we prepared to recast our lives on these lines? Non-violent way of life will count nothing too dear a price to pay for goodwill and peace among men.

Our own analysis leads us to believe that self-sufficiency in primary needs is a *sine qua non* to the establishment of peace. No amount of ardent desire will help us unless we are prepared to remodel our national economic activity on these lines. Merely tampering with the symptoms will be of no avail as long as the provocative causes are left untouched.

Europe is sick unto death of war but it has no time to think of ways of avoiding it. Its leaders are rushing the nations headlong into so called "Recovery Programmes" which are heading them direct to the precipice. But for the voice of Gandhiji India seems inclined to follow suit. Shall we wake up in time to be saved or shall we too be consumed in the approaching conflagration?

December, 1947 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

III

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

Generally, war has been used as a means of settling disputes, wreaking vengeance, and conquest for the purposes of acquiring land and other natural resources, of gaining power over other men and nations, or for obtaining slaves to enable the conquering nation to lead a life of luxury, or to secure the hoarded wealth of other nations. Of recent years, with the increasing mechanisation of warfare, it has also provided an excellent insatiable market for the industrial producers. For these reasons the wars have been waged by the scheming few enlisting the help of the majority by false propaganda, alluring them with short-term benefits and upsetting their future welfare and security.

In spite of all this, philosophers of the type of William James had recognised that there were good points involved in belligerency. If only we can take out the destructive elements of war and the desire to exploit the strong, we may be able to make the armed forces from being a parasite on society into a force for the cultural development of the nation. Such philosophers recognized that war afforded room for the development of the various faculties of man and, therefore, it also performed a function in the growth of humanity. Hence, they were seeking ways and means to discover a moral equivalent of war.

The military brought out certain qualities of the higher elements in man, such as, the protective instinct, resource-

fullness and creative expression, though the scopes for these were within circumscribed regions. It also promoted the spirit of adventure, venturesomeness, courage, co-operative action and the willingness to sacrifice for a cause. They argued that if a proper turn could be given to this destructive organization of the military forces, it would be possible to use the good elements, that play a part in war, for the benefit of mankind. Various methods and means had been suggested. In our country, at the present moment, the Government is bent on introducing military training in our schools and colleges. The ostensible reason given being that military training can be made a nation-building activity to introduce discipline and orderly life amongst the youth as well as develop their physique.

In a practical way, Gandhiji has given us a programme of activity in constructive work, which gives the fullest scope for the development of that which is latent in an individual. Constructive work is one through which the individual grows. It promotes all that the armed forces can give and yet improves on them. Instead of discipline imposed from outside it developes self-discipline and self-control. The spirit of sacrifice and the devotion to a cause, along with the will-power to create the necessary environment, is also called for. A constructive worker is a pioneer in many cases. He has launched forth into a hostile world with thought currents running against him to fulfil his destiny. This gives him scope to foster courage and adventure. The whole of his constructive programme is based on a group of people working out their scheme in co-operation from day to day. Thus more than a military campaign, constructive work calls for superior qualities and affords, in a fuller measure, scope for expression for the individual to grow in his moral stature.

"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full."

"Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you because they have not known the Father, nor me"

"Because, I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart." "Verily, I say unto you that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice; and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow will be turned into joy, and your joy no man taketh from you." The Comforter whom the Father will send—the Spirit of Truth—He will guide you into all truth". The Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me and have belived that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father".

"Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

"These things I have spoken unto you that in me ye might have peace, In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

Gandhiji having shaken off his mortal coil representing all limitations of time and space, has now joined the Universal Spirit. May those of us who truly love him be given the grace and strength to follow in the trail blazoned forth by his life and actions.

If we dedicate our lives to the attainment of Gandhiji's ideals we shall have much hard work if peace is to be

brought to this world torn by communal dissensions, economic greed, and ambition for power, in an atmosphere surcharged with hatred and suspicion. But nothing is impossible for those who lay their trust in Him who is almighty. Shall we wipe away our tears and gird our loins and face the task before us with unrelenting faith in God and man to carry on the good work started by our immortal leader–Bapu ?

February, 48

Gram Udyog Patrika

V

OUT OF THE MOUTH OF BABES

Great truths are often spoken by the lips of unsophisticated children. Pearl S. Buck reports that on hearing of the news of Gandhiji's death, her ten year old son with tears in his eyes said, "I wish no one had ever learned how to make guns".

Guns are as boy's catapults when compared to the atom bombs. Even in India our leaders are encouraging researches into atomic energy with the ostensible reason of making use of it for production and not for destruction. This is always the sugar coating for every nefarious purpose. Our moral development lags well behind our mental advancement leading us to use our knowledge for destruction.

From America Reuter's news item states that the objective of the Un ted States Atomic Energy Commission is to manufacture atomic bombs on a mass production basis and that the expansion of production facilities is to effect a continuous flow of component parts which will mean a speeding up of the final product also. The world is heading to a precipice. Shall we be spared even to say, "I wish no one had learned how to make atom bombs?"

March, 1948

—Gram Udyog Patrika

VI

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT?

In the House of Lords speaking on the atomic energy the Most Reverend, The Archbishop of York suggested that if negotiations between Truman, Attlee and Stalin should fail then those nations, willing to submit to an atomic authority, should do so without waiting for Russia and be in a position to confront any potential aggressor with an overwhelming deterrent force" Has His Grace so quickly forgotten the lessons of the last two global wars or does he believe in getting in the blow first? It appears to us that the nations of the world are being blindfolded to the lessons brought home to us by the last two wars that force does not solve the problems between nations. Already people in the know are talking of the thirld word war. Premier George Drew of Ontario, speaking in Toronto early this week said, "We must realise that we are at war today-and let us not baulk at that word. Hundreds of millions of people are being held in slavery and two hundred millions more are under the threat of slavery. There is much talk of the world being divided into two kinds of ideologies, but there never was such a simple division as now—not just of ideology but an irreconciliable difference between two ways of life". Yes, it is the two ways of life that are in conflict today; the one believes in gaining the whole material world for oneself and the other abhors violence even if it be at the cost of renouncing the world.

The people who would gain the world have forgotten that the means of violence, even from the materialistic point of view, is not worth the candle. Great Britain is squander ing about 700 millions on military commitments. The Air Force itself accounts for about 170 millions. The Army clamours for over 500 millions and the Navy, of course, is the pet boy on whom not enough could be lavished. These figures mean nothing unless they indicate that so much of the productive power of the country is being diverted towards destruction; and these figures naturally take no account of the enormous loss of human life. Unless the nations wake up betimes, we shall again be plunged into the cauldron from which there will be no escape this time.

India itself is being dragged into this whirlpool of violence. Our military expenditure, in a budget under a national government, is soaring high. As far as we can see, the powers that are interested in enriching themselves are extremely busy fomenting the type of industrialization that will plunge us headlong over the precipice.

The "Industrial Policy", outlined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently, gives us no hope that the government are aware of the dangers lurking beneath such a "Policy" Statements and actions of government indicate that there is no considered policy in regard to the economic development of the country. The government appears to be guided mainly by the exigencies of the case. Whichever interest happens to be vociferous at the time obtains a promise that will suit the party, irrespective of the effect on the country as a whole. This programme of drifting along the current will not avail us much. What is wanted is a definite philosophy which will envisage the future of our country and indicate the means of attaining it, and all other considerations must

be secondary to this main objective. Given such an objective our country can enunciate a policy which will not only bring peace and stability to our own land but will also usher hope into a world distorted with suspicion

May, 1948 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

VII

THE NEO SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Jesus in his simplicity and ignorance of world affairs taught us in byegone days to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us. "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also" said the carpenter's son. But then He had not the advantage of studying modern diplomacy at the feet of His Grace Dr. Cyrial Garbett, the Archbishop of York.

This second custodian of the soul of the Church of England, making his presidential address to the Convocation of York, devoted much time to define the duties of a Christian. He said, "The Christian should support the United Nations as an attempt to limit national sovereignty. Unless the veto is restricted the United Nations will fail, as the League of Nations had failed, to preserve peace.

"The Christian must press strongly for the outlawry of the Atomic Bomb. Its use in war may result in the end of our civilization and reversion of those who survive to primitive conditions of existence.

"In an armed world, the democratic State must also be armed. Weakness and timidity encourage an aggressor, while protests and arguments excite his contempt, unless behind them there stands the resolution of an armed people ready to fight, suffer and die, rather than passively submit to the murder of their nation and the enslavement of its citizens.

"In supporting the Government in taking all necessary precautions against attack, we shall do so without hatred for any nation,"

The last sentence is a master stroke to reconcile the "turning the left cheek" philosophy with the Atom Bomb diplomacy. Hiroshima experience tells us what to expect from this doctrine. Let us pray in sackcloth and ashes "Lead us not into temptations but deliver us from evil". May god also save us from such leadership.

December, 1948 *—Gram Udyog Patrika*

VIII

THE SUPER BOMB

A Globe news message tells us that in America they have discovered a new Atomic Super Bomb, a thousand times as violent as the Atom Bomb. This is prepared not from Uranium but from heavy Hydrogen.

While the common people everywhere are anxiously awaiting for the return of peace, the authorities in power in many nations are planning large-scale destruction. The lessons of the last two wars appear to have been lost as far as this section of humanity is concerned. We are told that Russia is persistently strengthening its armed forces and having big air parades to demonstrate their might. Marshal Stalin's son, Major General Vassili Stalin, is holding a demonstration to show the possibilities of jet—plane aerial battle and according to Reuter's report, the Russians are gloating over their achievements as compared to the preparation of the Allies.

This state of affairs does not begin and end with Europe. Even our poor country has to spend what little wealth it produces in carrying out an ambitious programme to build up the Royal Indian Air Force, the objective being to make it the most powerful air force in the East. The Government of India are hoping that within about 20 months the Indian Air Force will have 4 more fighter squadrons, including a bomber squadron, and a jet squadron along with the latest types of jet air-craft. More than expenses involved, what is

perturbing us is the mentality behind this programme. It shows that our leaders are pinning their faith to armed forces inspite of the disastrous experience of Japan so near us.

In building up our Navy we have to look to the scrap heap of other Naval powers. We are picking the cast off clothing and over size boots while the other nations are building more modern types of battle-ships. We provide them market for their second hand goods. Recently, the Royal Indian Navy took over H.M.S. "Achilles" and Lord Mountbatten hoped that we would buy a couple of Air-craft carriers and cruisers. These are ways of Great Britain settling her accounts with us and coaching us up to take up her discarded arms at fabulous prices.

With the attainment of freedom we had hoped that our leaders will show the world that India believes that violence never settles the dispute but understanding and friendliness will always call for mutual good-will. Therefore, it is time that people took a genuine interest in the affairs of the State and acted as a check in the all-out violent programme that is before our country.

March, 1948 *—Gram Udyog Patrika*

IX

WHITHER CENTRALIZATION?

With the advent of the so called popular ministries, people's minds are agitated over the policies that these ministries should follow. At the moment there is a considerable amount of loose thinking in regard to the expansion of the textile mills in Madras, which brings to the fore the question of centralization in industries.

It is not generally understood that imperialism is a child of centralized industries and now in its dotage centralized industries cannot exist without the support of imperialism.

When England took to centralized methods of production Great Britain was not an Empire. Its economic life was based on decentralized methods of production. She was a highly cultured country with a strong moral background. Even now, when we think of her great contributions to the progress of man, we have to look back to the period before the Industrial Revolution. The best of her literature—Shakespeare, Milton and such like were Elizabethian; in Art men of the type of Sir Joshua Reynolds flourished prior to the nineteenth century. Sir Christopher Wren and his peers in architecture never saw a textile mill to afford them inspiration. Moral giants like Latimer, who where British

satyagrahis, who were prepared to lay down their lives for their convictions, never saw the power of the steam engine. We may say the Victorian Era was the darkest age in British History culturally, whatever its glamour may have been financially and materially. After the Industrial Revolution Great Britain gained the whole word but lost its soul. Why was this ?

When Great Britain took to centralized methods of production in textile industry, and was relying for h-r raw materials on commercial contracts with the Southern States of America she found her position was unstable, as during the American Civil War her industries were hard hit when the American cotton could not reach Manchester. She realised that if her industries were to survive, she ought to have the production of raw materials under her direct control. So she turned to India to ensure her cotton supply and keep her markets for finished goods also under her political control. This was the birth of British Imperialism.

This arrangement was found very satisfactory for the mill owners as they saddled several items of their cost also on Indian Revenues. The cost of research incidental to the production of long staple cotton, the discriminating freight rates, the shipping policy etc, were controlled in favour of the British manufacturers. Thus their cost of production was kept low.

For the political control of raw material producers and markets it is necessary to maintain a strong Army, Navy and Air Force. The costs of these again are charged to the State and not to the beneficiaries—the mill owners. Thus it is that by these unseen and unrecorded subsidies that the products of mills appear cheaper.

In our own life time, such has been the experience of industrialization in Japan also. She finds the need to control politically Manchuria and China. These are the irritant causes of global wars today. Do we want our country also to have a share in these nefarious activities ? If not, we must steer clear of centralization in the production of consumption goods for private profit.

October, 1946 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

X

THE PARENT OF IMPERIALISM

Imperialistic countries have not entered on the method or controlling the life of the people of other countries after full consideration of the circumstances, nor had they any evil designs on the independence of the governed peoples, Imperialism has been a gradual and natural growth out of circumstances demanded by centralized industries for their own development and maintenance. Centralized industries, which work on a large scale, require a steady stream of raw materials at one end and a dependable market for finished goods at the other. To enable the industrialists to control these conditions it becomes necessary for them to obtain political control over raw material producers, not only to get the ready materials themselves but also to ensure the production of materials in sufficient quantities. Great Britain was not an imperialistic country a hundred years ago but she became an imperialistic country about the middle of the last century, when she discovered that it was a precarious economic existence to depend upon cotton from the Southern States of America purely on a contract basis. After her experience of the distubances caused by the Civil War in America, she turned to India for her raw materials and to ensure against any political disturbances upsetting her economic order, she felt it necessary to control our country's economic life in the interests of Great Britain.

Wherever we see the seeds of centralized industries germinating we find also a soil ready for imperialism.

Within the last half a century, Japan has adopted the imperialistic approach to economics following her accepting the method of largescale production as their normal form of economic order.

Similarly even small units, which start on the large scale methods of production, are faced by problems which can only be solved by an imperialistic approach. In a village near Coimbatore an enterprising individual had set up six looms run by a crude oil engine. He had spent about Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000 on his equipment. He was able to run it for barely 18 days in the month on the yarn quota supplied from Coimbatore. He was representing his needs and said that if he could be supplied with half as much yarn again he could run his unit the whole month round and reduce his expenses to such an extent as to cut down even on the mills costs of production. His raw materials *viz.* warps came from Coimbatore and his finished goods were sold somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nellore. The logical course, in time will be, for this man, to get control over his raw material producer, *viz.* the Coimbatore Mill owner. If he can get hold of an army of goondas who will, at the point of the dagger, obtain all the yarn that he needs, he would be able to make his mill work more "efficiently" than the large textile mills. Again, if he can get special low rates of transport for his goods to Nellore, he can also undersell the textile mills. This, in the miniature, represents the position of all centralized industries. They have got to resort to imperialism and exploitation as a condition precedent to their existence. Centralized method of production is the parent of imperialism.

FOOD *Vs.* RAW MATERIAL

Thus controlling raw materials available is not enough in itself, especially where the raw material is an agricultural

product. In such cases the machinery of agricultural research institutes is taken possession of to produce what the mills require even as against the food requirements of the people. The present day famines are in no small measure due to such encroachments. In Malabar, in several villages, the land under paddy had been reduced by about 20% and in its place coconut groves have sprung up. The coconut groves were intended, not for purposes of food, but for supplying *copra* for the oil mills which in their turn, were producing soap. Is it any wonder, when such shifting of crops can take place, that we should be subject to periodical famines?

In Malabar, children run about with brownish hair. When the cause was enquired into, it was said that formerly hese children were bathed in coconut oil and had plenty of oil to rub on their scalp. But now the coconuts were selling practically at the same high prices as prevail in Madras, and therefore, these children do not get the oil for their massage. In these ways centralized industries have to encroach on the primary requirements of our people, starve them and bring about ill-health, so that their production may be ensured.

MONEY ECONOMY

With the help of money economy, these things are done without the victim being aware of it. Money is not a safe method of valuing articles, especially of primary necessities. For instance, at Avanashi firka a good deal of the milk produced was being sent to Coimbatore. The value of a pound of milk is in the nutrition it affords. The milk producer, if he gives it to his child, ensures sufficient calcium to build up the child's bones, fat and other nutritious materials to build up the body. The value of the milk, from the natural point of view is the same whether it is consumed

by the mill owner or the producer's child. We may even say the value of milk is greater when given to a growing child than when given to an adult. Just because the rich mill owner of Coimbatore is able to offer As. 8/- for a pound of milk, the Avanashi producer deprives his child of this nutritious food, and sends it away to Coimbatore. In so doing he does not realise that he is, in effect, selling. the future health of the child. Therefore, in all our considerations in regard to our rural development, we have to bear in mind that neither centralized industries, nor their efficiency, nor even their money values can be the sole arbiter to guide our decisions. We have to think in terms of the well being of the people irrespective of the commercial value of the product. In most cases it may even mean that we may have to get people to do things which, at the moment may appear against their own interests.

January, 1947 *—Gram Udyog Patrika*

XI

"THE GLORIOUS VIOLENCE"

In times past wars were more or less confined to self-seeking leaders who went to wage war with their neighbours either for self-aggrandizement, revenge or loot. In all these cases these leaders gathered round themselves men of the type of brigands, outlaws and riff-raffs of society, who carried out their behests with zest, as these sadists were so built to enjoy inflicting cruelty on others. We have examples of these in Chengez Khan, Alexander the Great, Nadir Shah and Napolean.

As the Industrial Revolution came along and centralized industries, with their manufacturing factories situated in one country, with their raw materials being drawn from different parts of the world and seeking markets for their finished products elsewhere, came into being, the need for controlling politically the raw material producers and markets and safeguarding the high ways became great. This realization of the necessity for political control over other nations and policing the ocean routes, led to the modern political organization commonly called Imperialism. With the expansion of centralized industries, some countries began to specialize in manufactures to the neglect of Agriculture. This increased the dependence of such countries further. In the same measure as the dependence on others increased they had to increase their command over the producers of raw material and food. This led to the growth of organized violence

which more or less synchronized with expansion of centralized industries and is an inseparable Siamese twin of this method of production.

With the need of violence in Industrial interests, it became necessary to elevate what was once murder, dacoity and brigandage to the dignity of national service, so as to clothe those engaged in it with respectability and harness the youthful patriotism and idealism of the younger generation. In Great Britain they enhance the status of all offices in the Army, Navy and Air Forces to one of a noble profession. To clothe them with sanctity they put up memorials for distinguished fighters and large-scale killers in places of worship such as St. Paul's Cathedral or the Westminster Abbey. Such was the method adopted to glorify violence in the West.

To enthuse young people it was necessary to harness the emotions also to the war chariot. This was done by organizing propaganda of hate of other countries and their culture. Ultimately the result of this is what we find today in Europe—devastation, whole-sale destruction, starvation and nakedness. Violence has not yet proved a satisfactory means of bringing about or maintaining peace. On the other hand, it is the one weapon which has stood between the common man and peace and prosperity.

In India, we had not reached the stage of industrialization which would demand the upsetting of our moral codes and standards of values. But it would seem as though we are fast drifting on to the dangerous waters in which Europe has found its doom. Pt. Jawaharlal is confusing military power as a means of attaining peace. He sings the same old song as many before him had sung when he declared at

the time of welcoming the Cruiser H. M. I. S. "Delhi", "That we shall always remain in this country as men of peace and that our country will ever remain devoted to peaceful objects and pursuits" and added, "Unfortunately in this world today, it is not enough to merely desire peace. One has to have the gift and strength to keep the peace and sometimes to make others keep peace. So in this world, any country which seeks freedom and independence must be strong enough to maintain it. Does this not sound as an echo of what we have heard the various European statesmen hold out to their people a few years ago as the reason for arming themselves to the teath? Apart from this Pt. Nehru probably forgets that the Cruiser runs on mineral oil which will not be available to us should a state of belligerency arise, in which case we may have to take to charcoal or build up an armada of back water Kutmorans! (Madras type of fishing boats).

A statement of this kind may easily be passed over as the emotional ebuillition of our youthful Prime Minister. But soon after comes a declaration by the Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that the Government had revoked the previous descision to keep down the strength of the Indian Army and have embarked on a policy of expansion of the Indian Defence Forces.

As though this was not enough our Governor-General speaking at the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun assures us that "Everybody in India now is war-minded. Everybody talks of war and wants war". He goes on to glorify the profession of murder and destruction as a noble one. He waxes eloquent with the following words, "Of all the professions in India today—whether it is the doctor's, the sanitary officer's, the lawyer's, the teacher's, the civil servant's or the barber's —of all the professions, high and low in this country, the

Army is the most popular profession among the people, popular not in the sense that they all like to join the Army, but popular in the sense that they love the Army. There is no greater ecouragement or pleasure to people than to be loved by other people. That is the biggest addition to your salary.

Over and above the money you get as salary, you have the current of the living love of the people. The old commanders-in-chief and other senior military officials, including the old subedars, did not get it. But today everybody loves you. Therefore, every rupee that you are now getting from the Government is a golden rupee, not a silver rupee. It is gilded with the love of the people and you are, therefore, very lucky.

"I wish I were young. I would have surely joined the Army, if for nothing else at least for the pleasure of being admitted here and taught as a cadet in this institution." We sympathise with him in that he is unable to join the forces to take an active part in this "Noble" profession. Like the prime Minister he adds a post-script, "I wish no war should come and overtake us and that we should always be threatening and never have to wage war. It is good to keep your fangs like a cobra in your mouth but not bite anybody. We have to keep arms, but it is not good to wage war". May we humbly remind our great Governor-General that these were the sentiments that governed the Americans before Hiroshima, but the atom bomb proved too strong for their pious resolutions? Let us beware and not play with fire.

May, 1949

—Gram Udyog Patrika

XII

SERVICE OR DISSERVICE ?

A news agency reports that when Miss Muriel Lester was asked to explain how India, where she said the effects of Mahatma Gandhiji's teachings were very apparent today, was preparing an Army, Navy and an Air Force, in keeping with non-violence, she replied some leaders had told her that "India had no aggressive intentions while building up the three fighting services but that it was necessary to make Indians disciplined". It is amazing that a woman of Miss Lester's attainments should have swallowed such bare faced propaganda effectively enough to repeat it. It is evident that those "Some leaders" must have been very high placed for her to have taken such reasons seriously. Do we know of any civilized nation that has built up its military forces avowedly for aggression ? The discipline from military training degrades man. It teaches unquestioning obedience to anothers will. It is regimentation which kills the soul. It is discipline based on external source. Therefore, it is not a moral power. The higher type of discipline comes from within. It is "Satyagraha," self-discipline that ennobles man. Military training cannot bring us this. Gandhiji has given us the blue print for such training while it is based on nation building activities and does not lead to destruction, If India needs this true type of discipline she should take to constructive work and not build up the three destructive "disservices".

August, 1949 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

XIII

COST OF POLICING

We have been assured time and again that India will not pursue an aggressive Military Policy and that all that is intended is to keep an adequate police force. Is this policy reflected in the national expenditure? The following comparative percentages of the Military budgets to national expenditures are culled from "United Nations World".

Norway	8
Canada	12
United Kingdom	13
U. S S. R.	17
U. S. A.	25
France	32
India	47
Pakistan	55

What shall we say to a poor man who spends nearly half of what he gets on a *chowkidar* to take care of his empty house? The real policy of a government is not in its declarations but must be embodied in its records of its activities which the accounts should disclose.

January, 1949 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

XIV

THE WIND AND THE WHIRLWIND

What is called progress and civilization to-day is a Marathon race where the laurels are for the most devilish. When, in the opening years of this century, the Japanese defeated the Russians, the former was hailed as a World Power. When France could not outbid the violence of Germany she lost her status as a Power. The criterion is the achievement to perfection of savagery and barbarism. The latest distinction on this unenviable career has been attained by the users of the abomination of desolation—the Atomic Bomb. We do not grudge America or Great Britain their claim to such helish greatness, for we know, as certainly as night follows day, these demons of today, will in their turn, perish by the sword. But this is not what needs detain us. These are only passing phases. The History of Great Britain is but as a grain of sand on the shores of time.

Why is it that all science runs a-whoring after violence and destruction? Is humanity on a downward grade? Is violence becoming our purpose in life? What are the causes that make violence dominate the life of the world today? These are some of the questions that should rack our brains.

If we probe deep enough we shall find that the development of the higher nature of man—character and personality—is not keeping pace with the advance made by

his mental faculty. A spirited horse has to be held in by bit and bridle. We cannot afford to give loose reins. Man's self-control is being lost relative to the advancement made by science. Science we need, but when it outstrips man's character and upsets the poise, it makes a slave of man and generates violence. Then what is the remedy if we are not to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind?

There is a time lag between the development of human personality and the advancement of mental faculties. The former is a slow process, as all things with a permanent value tend to be. We cannot hand a child an open flaming torch. The child will be in danger of setting itself on fire. Fire is good. It has lighted the way of human progress. But it is out of place in the hands of an immature person. When the situation points to a tragedy, it is time for us to call a halt. Science is good. But we seem to have reached a stage where we need bivouac awhile to take stock of the situation and pull ourselves together if we are determined not to let circumstances run away with our lives. Have we the strength to do it? Or will humanity roll headlong downhill, gathering irresistible momentum and dash itself to pieces against the rocks ahead?

This question is not an international one only. It arises in our every day life in various forms. In the final analysis the question Machine *vs.* Human Labour in our country, is of the same origin. As things are, mechanical advancement has gone so far ahead of the development of the human personality, that man is becoming a greater and greater slave to the machine and he is in imminent danger of losing himself. When people say that we, of the non-violent school, are against machinery, they are uttering a truth in a relative setting. Machines are good, but if we have not

developed sufficient control over ourselves, they will lead us into the paths of violence and destruction. All this feverish planning for rapid industrialization as a post-war reconstruction, based on capital goods imported from abroad, is sure to lead us along the way all industrialized countries have gone—on the high road of violence, imperialism and destruction. Discretion dictates caution. Shall we heed it? Or shall we, in our pride of achievement, head for a fall?

September, 1945 *Gram Udyog Patrika*

XV

INFANTICIDE

One of the methods of controlling over-population practised since time immemorial is infanticide. Centralized method of production, if it is not to commit suicide, has also to resort to controls. Price mechanism is a well-known practice. Cartels, combines and trusts also play such a role. But these have mostly been used to check production of supplies. To meet the requirements of war, production had to be given loose reins to build up reserves. Now that the need has passed, these reserves, if allowed to enter the market, will depress business. These goods, that formed the reserves, have already been paid for out of public funds. Hence to keep them from the market for consumption goods, the surest and easiest course is to destroy them. Destruction of over production is as essential to centralized industries. To say it is irrational is to confess that one does not understand the rudiments of centralized industries in consumption goods.

Therefore when we read that aeroplanes and Rolls Royce engines are being destroyed at Bakshi—Ka—Talao aerodrome and that at Phaphamow about two thousand bicycles were laid on the ground and steam rollers went over them, though this seems the height of madness, yet we must accept this as being all in the days work, as long as we countenance the use of large-scale centralized production units. The present economic order cannot function without

such periodic destruction by wars while there is business depression, and by steam rollers while there is over-production. To appear surprised at such essential destruction can only be described as "naive".

What is taking place is not "vandalism" but infanticide of large-scale industries.

June, 1946

—Gram Udyog Patrika

XVI

BIRTH CONTROL IN INDUSTRIES

Some bitches eat up one or two pups of their own litter. Cats also do likewise. Mankind has resorted to various types of contraceptives to limit overproduction of the species. Large-scale centralized industries are following suit. According to a speech by Mr. J. B. Priestly at a large American Hospital in North Hereford, "A thousand sheets of blankets were put on a bonfire and burnt, tons of crockery were crushed by a steam-roller and no fewer than seven grand pianos were smashed". All this to keep up the prices and not to spoil the markets. Can folly go any further ?

September, 1945

—Gram Udyog Patrika

XVII

LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIES AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

We have been constantly pointing out that work is a medium of education. It is through work that man expresses himself and learns more about the environment and the science of what he is doing. When properly directed, work should be the main channel through which a human being develops to his full stature. It is from this principle that the Talimi Sangh is developing its technique of education through a craft.

It follows from this that if work is not given in a fully balanced form, the development of the worker also will become eccentric or lopsided. Evidence of this can be looked for in the countries where large-scale industries have replaced handicrafts. The best illustration of such a state of affairs is to be found in the United States of America. In a volume of "*Five Minute Biographies*" by Dale Carnagie the following observation appears:—

"There are more patients suffering from mental diseases in the hospitals of America than from all other diseases combined. One student out of every 16 at school there today, will spend part of his life in an insane asylum. If you are in 15 years of age, the chances are, 1 out of 20, that you

will be confined in an institution for the mentally ill for 7 years of your life. During the last decade, mental diseases have almost doubled. If this appaling rate of increase continues for another century, half the entire population will be in the insane asylum and the other half will be outside trying to support them by taxes".

The truth of the above statement has been constantly vouched for by references to the state of affairs in the Health Magazines etc. The only trouble is that the writers rarely seek for the causes.

We hope, therefore, that when India is to be reconstructed, our planners will keep in mind the needs of the human being—body, mind and spirit—apart from the material needs of the animal man. Unless our plan is comprehensive of these various aspects of human development, our planning will be not only futile but derogatory to the progress of mankind.

October, 1947 —*Gram Udyog Patrika*

XVIII

A WORLD MENACE ?

Every act of ours affects our neighbours either for their welfare or to their detriment. The economic organization of one country affects another and upsets the peace of the world if the equilibrium is not maintained by a proper calculation of the use of natural resources. The more we rely on an economy that is centred round current resources such as animal power, wood materials and other things which are capable of being produced by man or nature in unlimited quantities, the more permanent our economy will be. The more we base our economy on nature's reservoirs such as coal, oil, etc., the more likely are we to come into conflict with our neighbours as and when these resources run short.

England was at one time on a current economy with the horse power as its central motive force. The horse provided transport, and power for raising water and ploughing the land. With the advent of steam machinery, coal came into vogue. This brought England into a reservoir-centred economy which moved towards violence as the stock of coal began to be depleted. In the meanwhile the U. S. A. came into the field with its tremendous resources of oil-fields. England switched over from coal on to oil as the better method of obtaining its power. With the exhaustion of the oil fields by the demands made on them during the last two global wars, nations are prospecting further reservoirs all the

world over. At the present time the peace of the world is poised on the possibility of obtaining oil from other parts of the world. Russia, Great Britain and the U. S. A. are eager bidders for the oil of Borneo, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia etc. On their settlement depends the welfare of the world.

India's has been a cow-centred economy and now, with the talk of industrialization, we are rapidly gravitating to a reservoir-economy based on petrol which is not one of our natural resources. Indian air lines are said to fly every day distances equal to the equator of the world. Last year over sixty million passenger-miles were flown. It is expected to double this in the course of the current year. India has over four hundred air-crafts on her field register and a big construction programme is well in hand. Some of the finest international aerodromes are being constructed at Karachi, Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay and the promoters of air lines hope to operate international air services. When one hears of all this much-vaunted "advance and progress" one trembles to think of what the consequences will be to the world.

At the Labour Party Conference at Margate, Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, is said to have stated that "the peace of the world, for many years to come, will depend to a very large extent on the solution of the Indian problem". And later, referring to industrial needs of India he added, "India is dependent upon this oil (Middle East oil resources) as much as we are. As India is going into industrialization, it will become more and more vital that these resources should be maintained."

This indicates the menace that India may easily become to world peace if our present pace and direction towards industrialization is maintained. If India is to contri-

G·L·130

bute to world peace, we have to take care of the methods we adopt. If our methods are such and if our daily life requires the exploitation of our fellow beings, ultimately we shall also follow the example set by Great Britain and America in their efforts to control their natural resources for their own ends. A proper consideration will call for a certain amount of reserve, self-control and discipline. These may have the effect of apparently retarding our "progress." But such control will be exercised in the interest of world peace. Are we prepared to regulate our economic life with this consideration of the welfare of all peoples as the centre around which all countries should organize themselves and if need be make the necessary sacrifices ?

22—6—47 —*Harijan*

XIX

WORLD SECURITY

The much advertised San Francisco Conference has produced a scheme which it is claimed will make for peace and will guarantee the four freedoms for which it has been working. The method it has adopted is to entrust the policing functions to a group of "Big Powers" assisted by a few smaller ones. This group will wield the big stick and keep down the recalcitrant ones. In effect it is the old League of Nations with a few frills added, and we fear it will meet the same fate as its predecessor, as the basic evils in society which produce such holocausts as these World Wars, have not been tackled at all. The remedy sought is too superficial.

In the history of mankind these attempts at making the world safer from the onslaughts of greed and avarice are not novel. In Christendom the Church, not content with reserving for itself the moral power consequent on its spiritual leadership, but with the help and allegiance of other temporal States and with the sanction of physical force and violence, tried for centuries to play the role of arbiter and restore the rule of reason amongst nations; but the savage and barbaric hordes of Europe reduced its efforts to futility as these recurring World Wars have witnessed. The heart of man was not touched.

The attempt made by Islam was through ethnical means. They aimed at making humanity a brotherhood where all distinction of caste, colour and economic inequalities

would be abolished. This method was much more successful but as it confined itself only to the followers of the Prophet it did not naturally attain world-wide dimensions in practice. It has yet great unexplored possibilities.

In India, the Hindus of old launched on an elaborate plan to sterilise greed and avarice by setting up cultural standards of values, which will reduce the evils of economic competetion and lay emphasis on the value of the development of personality. By the *Varnashram Dharma*, the ones who exercised merely rights, were put down as the lowest group. The profit seeking *Vaisya* had no high social status while the protector of the people, the *Kshatriya*, had a status all his own, independent of his wealth or material possessions. The dispossessed *Brahmin*, whose position of influence was based on the service of his fellowmen, occupied the pinnacle of respect. This system has also fallen short of its possibilities because, in the course of time, these distinguishing ideals were lost sight of and status was attached to birth rather than to the form of service rendered to society.

The San Francisco Conference granting the charter of World Security by the agreement and help of the "Big Powers" borders on the ludicrous. Whoever has heard of the small nations being a menace to World Security ? It is the greed of the "Big Powers" that has plunged the world in streems of blood from time to time. For these very miscreants to be asked to guarantee World Security is like entrusting the safety of our banking houses to a team of gangsters. What is needed is the distintegration and liquidation of these very "Big Powers" and a fundamental change in the economic outlook and organization.

We have to accept the fact that all modern wars are caused by economic competition for raw materials and markets.

This competition is made keener still by a complex standard of living built up by a whole series of artificially created wants which do not satisfy any natural needs. This being so, there can be no world security until this malady is attacked. The remedy cannot be mere physical force and restraint caused by fear. The real cause has to be grappled with, and a solution found by means of cultural forces, which will counteract the acquisitive tendencies of man and crush his selfishness. This calls for the setting up of standards based on simplicity of life and building up of character and personality. Only by such means will it be possible to secure to the world composed of the weak and the strong, the simple and the sophisticated, a state of affairs where all can follow their several avocations free from fear, want and slavery and enjoy freedom of thought and speech. In practice, to achieve this in the economic sphere it would be necessary to curb the profit motive and control the centralized industries and at the same time regulate our consumption in the light of real needs.

July, 1945 *—Gram Udyog Patrika*

XX

ON EARTH PEACE

This is a season when all Christians celebrate the advent of the Messiah whose mission was to usher in peace on earth and goodwill towards men. Hence, it makes it incumbent on all of us to see that the way in which we celebrate this event is in consonance with the spirit of Jesus.

The traditional way of observing this festival by feasting and exchanging gifts requires careful thought. We cannot feast if such action necessitates others fasting. We may not give gifts which portend strife. We are responsible, not only for our own actions, but also for the acts of others which are conditioned by our requirements. If we use milk and milk products for which the surrounding countryside is scoured, leaving little or nothing even for the children of the producers of milk, then we become parties to the malnutrition of those children. If we buy gifts which have been brought into the market by international strife at any stage of its production, exchange or consumption, we share in the responsibillity for such conflict and bloodshed.

This is not an exaggeration or an over-emphasising of moral application of our every day acts. Thousands of years ago, when King David's forces were in battle array against the hordes of the Philistines near Cave of Adullam, the King was over against the well of Bethleham on the other side of the enemy. King David was moved with the love

for his own city Bethleham and exclaimed. "Oh, for a cup of cold water from that well". Three of his valiant soldiers overheard this expression of what they considered a deep longing of their king. During that night these men of valour stole through the enemy lines, reached the well, and returned to the king's camp with a pot of water from the well and triumphantly presented it to their king in the morning. When the king heard what his men had done to fulfill a passing desire of his, he was much moved by their loyalty, devotion and their venture and picking up that pot of water of the well of Bethleham, he said, "What ! Shall I drink of the contents of this pot ? This is not water ! This pot contains the blood of these, my beloved warriors, who had risked their lives to satiate a whim expressed by me, Far be it from me to drink their blood. I pour it out as a sacrifice to the living Lord of hosts, our God,". The spiritual sensitiveness of King David made him tremble at the idea of personally porfiting from the sacrifice and risk of his soldiers. Can we do any less after all these centuries?

WHAT WERE THESE FOR ?

The present generation has witnessed the blood-baths the world has been through twice. What were these for? I am confident that there are few among us who are naive enough to believe that all this was in the cause of Democracy or to end wars as is claimed by the belligerent parties on both sides. We all know that these global upheavals are caused by the underlying greed of certain nations for raw materials and their desire to control their markets. If this be so, then those who export such raw materials and deal in such markets, are no less parties to these sanguinary wars. If Japan wants to control the Chinese market, every chinese, who buys a Japanese article, is not only collaboara-

ting with the enemy but also effectively contributing towards the waging of the war because he is a willing cause of it. In the same manner when we buy foreign goods, from whatever country it may be, we are direct causes of international strife. International trade there could be, but such should be only in exchange of surpluses and not in raw materials or primary consumer goods.

NEIGHBOURLY LOVE

If we love our neighbours as ourselves, our love should express itself in a tangible form in every day life. We ought to patronise the production of our neighbours—buy the goods made by them. If our country is poor today it is because our custom has gone to the foreign producers. Even in food articles we buy Australian grain, American cereals in the form of corn flakes, shreaded wheat, grape nuts, quaker oats etc. All this means taking employment out of the hands of our own people and thus leading them on to starvation. "If you love me feed my lambs". What does this mean? Not mere indiscriminate charity but to act and live ourselves in such a way as will help others to feed themselves.

Let us, therefore, during this festive period and in the coming year, resolve to work towards world peace and towards the abolishing of all political slavery by abstaining from dealing in all foreign goods. Thus shall we wash our hands clean of human blood and work for the attainment of freedom for all. Every one in his own little corner and to the full measure of his capacity. Every little will count and the world will have peace and goodwill as a result.

December, 1947 —*Jai Jesu*

THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION
MAGANVADI, WARDHA C. P.

Price List of Publications Available

TERMS OF BUSINESS

Those who wish to order any of these publications may do so by remitting in advance their price and postage in stamps or by money order. The language or languages in which the books are available are written against them —(E) for English, (H) for Hindi, (G) for Gujarati and (M) for Marathi. It is requested that the language in which they are required be stated when ordering. **Address, Post-office Dist, Rly. Station** should be stated clearly. Annas four should be sent extra if the books are required per Registered Post.

Bonafide booksellers, who order our publications worth at least Rs 25/- at a time, will be allowed a discount of 15% on the price and free delivery by rail. Packing, and other incidental expenses will have to be borne by them. Rs. 10-/ should accompany every such order and the balance will be realised by V. P. P.

Books preceded by an asterisk are not our publications so no discount will be allowed on them.

We shall not be responsible for any damage or loss in transit.

These Rupee prices can be converted into foreign currency at the ollowing rates :—

1 Re.=2 Shillings=50 Cents (U. S. A.)

1. GENERAL.

Why the Village Movement ? pp. 196

By J. C. Kumarappa (with a foreword by Gandhiji)

Gandhiji says :-

"J. C. Kumarappa answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. I wonder if the Village Movement has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair. This booklet s an attempt to answer the question."

		Price	Packing Postage
5th Edition	(E)	3-8-0	0-4-0
(in press)	(H)		
	* (G)	2-0-0	0-3-0
Gandhian Economy and other Essays (2nd edition) *By. J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	2-0-0	0-4-0
Economy of Permanence Part I	(E)	2-0-0	0-4-0
	* (M)	2-8-0	0-4-0
By J. C. Kumarappa Part II	(E)	2-0-0	0-4-0

Gandhiji says :—

"Like his brochure on the "Practice & Precepts of Jesus" Dr. Kumarappa's of " The Economy of Permanence" is a jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit."

Philosophy of Work and other Essays	(E)	1- 0-0	0-2-0
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	0-12-0	0-2-0
Science & Progress	(E)	0-12-0	0-2-0
By J. C. Kumarappa	* (H)	0-12-0	0-2-0
Peace & Prosperity *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0- 8-0	0-2-0
Blood Money *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0-12-0	0-2-0
Swaraj for the Masses *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	1-12-0	0-2-0
Europe—Through Gandhian Eyes *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0- 8-0	0-2-0
Present Economic Situation *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	2- 0-0	0-4-0
Our Food Problem *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	1- 8-0	0-2-0

		Price	Packing & Postage
Banishing War *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0- 8-0	0-2-0
Currency Inflation— Its Cause and Cure *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)(H)	0-12-0	0-2-0
An Overall Plan for Rural Development	(E)	1- 8-0	0-2-0
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	1- 0-0	0-2-0
Women and Village Industries *By J. C. Kumarappa*	(E)	0- 4-0	0-1-0

Gram Udyog Patrika

The Monthly organ of the A. I. V. I. A.

Gandhiji writes in the 'Harijan':

"Gram Udyog Patrika' contains solid reading matter for those, who are interested in the revival of village industries".

Annual Subscription	E & H	2- 0-0	each
Old available issues can be had in	E & H	0- 4-0	per copy
A. I. V. I. A. Annual Reports			
1938 39/40/41 Each	(E)	0- 3-0	0-1-0
1935/36/37/38/39/40/41 "	(H)	0- 3-0	0-1-0
42-43/44/45/46 "	(E) (H)	0- 5-0	0-1-0

2 DIET

Rice	(E)	1 -8-0	0-2-0
"	(H)	0-12-0	0-2-0
Table of Indian Food Values And Vitamins	(E) (H)	0-10-0	0-2-0
What Shall We Eat? *By J. P. Patel*	(E) (H)	3- 0-0	0-4-0
Childrens' Text Book on Diet *By J. P. Patel*	(H)	1- 0-0	0-2-0

3. INDUSTRIES

Oil Extraction *By J. P. Patel* 4th Edition	(E) (H)	3- 0-0	0-4-0
The Oil Mill vs. The Ghani " (A Chapter from Oil Extraction)	(E) (H)	0- 2-0	0-1-0

Palm Gur	(E) (H)	1-0-0	0-2-0
Bee Keeping	(E) (H)	2-0-0	0-2-0
Soap Making *By K. B. Joshi*	(E) (H)	1-8-0	0-2-0
Paper Making *By K. B. Joshi*	(E) (H)	4-0-0	0-4-0
Grinding of Cereals	(E)	0-8-0	0-2-0
Magan Chula	(E) (H)	0-8-0	0-1-0
Magan Dipa	(E)	0-8-0	0-1-0
Dhotijama	(H)	0-2-0	0-1-0

(Out of one Dhoti two garments—"Dhoti jamas"—can be made thus halving the cost. This pamphlet describes how it is made.)

4. SURVEY

*** C. P. Government Industrial Survey Committee Reports**

(Under the Chairmanship of J. C. Kumarappa)

Gandhiji writes :—

"Chapter 2 dealing with general considerations stamps the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as most such reports are, but should be given effect to without delay."

"The committee has made practical suggestions on all the industries. The curious must procure the report and study it

Part I. Vol 1. pp. 50 General recommendations to Government based on a survey of 606 villages.	(E)	0-8-0	0-4-0
Part I Vol 2. pp. 132 Two selected District Survey Reports and Notes on 24 Village Industries	(E)	1-0-0	0-4-0
Part II. Vol 1. pp. 40 Recommendations in regard to Forest, Mineral and Power Resources	(E)	0-8-0	0-4-0
Part II. Vol 2 pp. 109 Selected portions of reports on Forests, Mineral and Power resources, and on Transport, Taxation and Marketing	(E)	0-12-0	0-4-0

* **A Plan for the Economic Development of the N. W. F. Province, pp.36** (with supplement)

By J. C. Kumarappa (E) 0-13-0 0-3-0

Sir Mirza Ismail writes:—"I should like to compliment you on the very lucid manner in which you have dealt with the various questions relating to the industrial development of the Province. You have approached the whole problem in a direct, matter-of-fact and eminently practical way".

* **Survey of Matar Taluka**

By J. C. Kumarappa (in press) (E)

Kaka Saheb Kalelkar writes:—"The report is presented to the public as an authoritative document on the economic condition of a typical taluka of Gujarat. The reader will find that the statistics presented here in careful schedules are even more eloquent than the main body of the carefully worded and lucid report itself. It is a vivid picture of the slow process of exploitation, emasculation and perhaps decimating of a patient and peaceful population".

A Questionnaire for Rural Survey (E) (H) 0-4-0 0-1-0

Questionnaire for the Survey of Village Industries (E) 1-8-0 0-2-0

5 SUNDRIES

Guide to Maganvadi (E) (H) 0-3-0 0-1-0

Views of Maganvadi (28 pictures) (E) (H) 0-8-0 0-2-0

6 MISCELLANEOUS

Public Finance and Our Poverty

By J. C. Kumarappa

3rd Edition

with a foreword by Gandhiji * (E) 1-8-0 0-2-0
(H) 2-8-0 0-4-0

Gandhiji says:—

"The reader should carefully study these chapters which contain facts rather than arguments."

"I recommend the booklet both to the Indian as also to the Western readers."

The "Hindu" says:—

" The outspokenness of the analysis of the Indian problem is reinforced by revealing statistics in the book. The book deserves to be read by every student of Indian Economics.'

* **Practice & Precepts of Jesus** (E) 1-8-0 0-2-0

By J. C. Kumarappa

Gandhiji says:—

" Having carefully gone through these chapters, I can recommend their perusal to every believer in God, be he a Christian or a follower of any other religion.........It is a revolutionary view of Jesus as a man of God......If all believe as Prof. Kumarappa does, there will be no religious feuds and rivalries between sects and sects and different religions.

The Missionary Journal " Dnyanodaya " says:—

"We trust our readers will not fail to pray that the spirit of Christ, who led Prof: Kumarappa to write it, will bless its many readers......to read it is a searching spiritual exercise... the shining sinceri y reflected on every page of this book makes it a benediction to read. "

* **Christianity:—**

Its Economy and Way of Life (E) 1-8-0 0-2-0

By J. C. Kumarappa

This is a critical examination of the economic order of the West in the light of the principles enunciated by Jesus.

Organization and Accounts of Relief Work

By J. C. Kumarappa 1-0-0 0-2-0

Dr. Rajendra Prasad says:—

"This pamphlet summarises and collects and collates our experience and method of work (in Bihar Earthquake Relief) and Sri J. C. Kumarappa has done a public service in bringing together the points which may appear obvious now, but which were not so obvious when we started, and which needed much thought to make them clear. I hope it will prove helpful not only to new organizations engaged in similar work but also to students and would be organizers and social workers.

* **Clive to Keynes**	(E)	0-12-0	0-1-0
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	0- 8-0	0-1-0
	(G)	0-10-0	0-1-0

(A survey of the history of our Public Debts and Sterling Securities)

The "Hindustan Times" says:—

The brochure is packed with information which will have to be borne in mind when it comes to final reckoning with Britain."

Sterling Securities	(H)	0- 4-0	0-1-0
By J. C. Kumarappa			
Stone Walls & Iron Bars (in press)	(E) *		
By J. C. Kumarappa	(H)	0- 8-0	0-1-0

(Gives an account of the jail experiences of the writer and his suggestions of reform).